





























# To the Editor

## Authors and Unions

Sir,—Earlier this year, that long-respected and friendly organization, the Society of Authors, voted, by a substantial majority, in a referendum of its members, to become a union.

Some members were perhaps influenced in voting as they did by an unsigned article in the society's journal, *The Author*, which, in authoritative terms, advised "in a fully unfettered situation (usually among printers), a non-union writer might find it very difficult, if not impossible, to get published at all".

Could such a sentence really be written in England, and put so calmly on, without any sense of outrage? But there was more in the article concerned than that. The author believed that it was not possible to operate a closed shop among writers since a strike would be ineffective; "for that reason, no other" a closed shop could not be made to operate.

But is this not an occasion when a repellent idea should be denounced not as merely impracticable but utterly unacceptable, and wrong?

I, along with some other writers, have resigned from the Society of Authors as a result of these developments. There is a good case for trade unions in many fields of activity but I do not believe there is one at all in respect of writers. Writers are individuals and only have one work to sell in the market.

If the Society of Authors fears that "non-union writers" may find it hard to get published in England, then surely they should, in the interests of English letters as a whole, be in the forefront of the battle against this iniquitous tendency.

They should be discussing whether such a state of affairs could not be ruled at the European Court of Human Rights (see Webster versus the United Kingdom, a case brought by a railwayman who was sacked for refusing to join a union, currently being heard of the Court), quite apart from recalling the writings of Milton and others who were proud that censorship of the kind surely threatened could not happen here.

29 Ladbroke Grove, London W11 3BH.

## Stravinsky

Sir,—A person like Colonel Nani, "Mussolini's secretary", never existed. Alberto Aquarone writes (Letters, June 30), but unless he means that in the sense that Nani was extraordinary without being the statement is mistaken. Nani, or someone with the same name, was, verifiably, the intermediary between Stravinsky and Mussolini. But is it not likely that a head of state employed more than a single secretary?

## Literary Magazines

Sir,—P.N.R.'s three persons in one confusion, Editor Sissen ("I haven't a political position" TLS, July 7), General Editor Schmidt ("Mr. Silklin sees things in terms of fiction" and "last-minute survey of his own stance" we take "culture" to include politics" TLS, July 7), Editor Davis ("The monarchy is a poetic and religious institution, or it is nothing" PNR 5/11, Who is Mr. Schmidt's "we"? Does it include Sissen, because if it does this would mean that Schmidt thinks Mr. Sissen has politics but Mr. Sissen believes he has not. As to that letter, it is an old notion. Thum who adopts the "older", more conservative position usually do claim that they have only got a viewpoint; it is those who oppose them that are involved with factionalism. So, Sissen's view of himself as a cultured politician, who appears to celebrate the Church within Government on the one hand with the defining religious dissenters as "burnable" on the other, seems an odd kind of non-politics. This sort of thinking whereby "we" have a culture, a patriotism and you have a factious spirit is the very kind which prevented Mr. Schmidt from understanding what I originally said about his own work when I reviewed his *My Brother Glebeater in Poetry* (July 1977). I said then that his work was "tendentious". The *Oxford Dictionary* defines "tendentious" as "having a purposed tendency, composed or written with such a tendency".

It is the kind of deliberate and in some instances, distorted, bias and I believe Mr. Schmidt was in this way in much of the verse in that volume. He was, it seemed to me, writing a metaphorical kind of verse in which the imagery was being asked to convey ideas which, I felt, he was not convinced his

Apri 4a, 920 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10021.

## Apprentices Illustrated

Sir,—In your review of the last four issues of *Leon Garfield's Apprentices*, the illustrator is pointed out as Mr. Malika. I illustrated the first two in the series, published in 1976, but the other ten titles, published subsequently at six-month intervals, illustrated by myself. FAITH JAQUES, 10 Uxbridge Street, London, W5V 7SV.

Stand, 19 Holdens Terrace, Newcastle-upon-Tyne NE2 3AN.

Sir,—Now that Michael Schmidt (Letters, July 14) has disproved the "bad-tempered" allegations brought against *PN Review* by Jon Silklin (June 30), perhaps some one will tell me what was the serious offence with which I stood charged until they get no acquittal. All that Mr. Silklin quoted from any editorial of mine was the assertion, "The monarchy is a poetic and religious institution, or it is nothing". Aed of this he remarked that it is "tendentious". So in what way is it tendentious? Are there any probable truths that must not be uttered?

Jon Silklin seems to attach to such a sentiment the label "royalist", which had supposed was a term which only monarchists would use. I pointed out that Mr. Malika illustrated the first two in the series, published in 1976, but the other ten titles, published subsequently at six-month intervals, illustrated by myself. FAITH JAQUES, 10 Uxbridge Street, London, W5V 7SV.

Stand, 19 Holdens Terrace, Newcastle-upon-Tyne NE2 3AN.

## Among this week's contributors

J. A. Banks's *The Sociology of Social Movements* was published in 1972.

A. O. J. Cockburn is the author of *The Achievement of Walter Scott, 1793-1832* and *Tramway to 1914*, 1974.

Dennis Dobson's most recent book is *The Secretaries of State in the Imagined World*, published earlier this year.

D. O. Don is Director of the Science Studies Unit at the University of Edinburgh.

KARANTH GURA is Reader in History at the School of African and Asian Studies, University of Sussex.

BARBARA HARVEY's *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* was published last year.

ANNE HOLLANDER's *Sealing Through Clothes* will be published in October by the Viking Press.

WALTER LAGAN's most recent books are *Terrorism and Guerrilla*, both published last year.

LAURENCE LEANER is the author of *The Truth-tellers: Jane Austen, George Eliot, D. H. Lawrence, 1967*.

DENNY LUMPHREY's *A Place Apart* was published earlier this year.

MICHAEL NAVE is a lecturer in the History of Medicine at University College London.

LEON O. BROIN's books include *Penian Fever* and *The Prime Informant*, both 1971.

JUNNY PATRICKIEWICZ is the author of *Green Room*, 1974, and *The Third Adam*, 1975.

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always been a great discrepancy between the delivery and the substance; they do not read at all well. A comparison with the speeches of Winston Churchill, the brilliant orator of the period, is of some interest. Such also arrived in Palestine from Poland during the war. A middle-of-the-road Zionist who was made a Haganah commander, he later became a staunch supporter of the Soviet Union, but eventually lost his faith in orthodox communism. Both men were natural talents of the first order, but while Snihi first and foremost appealed to reason even during his worst, Stalinist, period, Begin did not, playing with great skill on his listeners' emotions. There were logic and consistency in Begin's speeches, too, but only if one accepted his basic tenets. For those not in tune with Begin's beliefs the charm did not work; they dismissed his big triumphs as the most successful propaganda exercise of all, at worst, a thuggish demagoguery.

But history does not wholly explain the Begin phenomenon, certainly not during this century. It only begins to explain the underground years there were no analysis it was his single-minded, uncompromising nationalism which was his great strength at a time of confusion and crisis.

Keynes's description of Clemenceau's attitude at the Versailles Peace Conference comes to mind: "no one was more than a few inches from the rest of the world, but he was not in it." Begin felt about Israel what Pericles felt about Athens—that there was no value in her, and that nothing else mattered. ("There is no morality higher than the morality of the Hebrew freedom struggle"; Ben-Zvi, *Volcani*, 1, page 218.) He had one illusion—Israel, and one disillusion—mankind (not excluding the Israelis, even his own colleagues).

The young Begin of 1944 may have been one of a misanthrope, but he was not. He expressed the fear that the Jewish nation was totally isolated, that it had no friends, that the whole world was against it. In a famous, unrecorded pre-war Poland, Begin is reported to have given vent to these feelings, only to be told by Jabotinsky that the logical course of action for him would be to drown himself in the Vistula.

Begin, as we know, did not follow this advice; his despair in any case was not constant and quite frequently his black moods would give way to extravagant optimism. When he came to power he promised to solve most problems in the near future and he told his advisers that there was no reason to fear that a conflict with America was inevitable.

There are more examples in Polish history than in Jewish history of such single-minded utopianism. It has terrified him all along, but he also made it impossible for him to understand the national ambitions of other people—and those of his own people who failed to share his convictions. In a recently published collection of his manifestoes, articles and illegal broadcasts during the underground period (1944-48), Britain time and

again appears on the reincarnation of Nazi Germany. British rule since 1920 had been a prison; but for our resistance they would have slaughtered our children. Begin was then at war with Britain and hence it was not a good time for writing history, but one still wonders whether his reputation will be enhanced by his uttering propaganda speeches made in the heat of the battle. Begin did not hate the Arabs, but thought there would be sufficient room for both Jews and Arabs (on both sides of the Jordan), he is sure. On at least one occasion he stated that a population transfer would be immoral. If there was Arab resistance to the Jewish national home, it was simply the action of misguided people incited by the British. And as late as 1947, in his meeting with the Americans at UNSCOP (the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine) he finally stated that Arab threats were empty and that they would not go to war.

Since then Begin's attitude to Arabs and British alike has changed. He has been unable to establish a special relationship with Whitehall, and the epithet "Nazi" is now applied to the PLO and to the more radical Arab terrorist organizations. But he is not a terrorist himself? Such comparisons are indignantly rejected by Mr. Begin. He was a fighter for the national freedom of his people, he and his comrades-in-arms engaged in military operations, not in terror, least of all against the civilian population. But such protestations carry little or no weight, for the Americans have claimed all along that they are conducting a national liberation struggle. Mr. Begin was, of course, head of a terrorist organization; he was Sam Muechid, who subsequently received both the Lenin and the Nobel Peace prizes, and a great many other people now highly respected.

With more justification Begin could claim that his form of terrorism belonged to a different era, with something of the "terrible beauty" of the Easter Rising of 1916, and not to be identified with the indiscriminate slaughter of innocents that has become the hallmark of contemporary terrorism. True, a great many innocent people were killed in the bombing of the King David Hotel, and there was much murder at Deir Yassin.

But Mr. Begin could claim that these were regrettable, unplanned incidents; and that they were not an integral part of Begin's strategy, for otherwise there would have been many more Yassins. Mr. Begin has claimed that Irgun made an effort not to attack non-combatants; and whether the effort was really there or not is a matter of legitimate dispute. There is no denying that there are fundamental differences between the Irgun (and most other old-style terrorist groups) and the deliberately indiscriminate murder perpetrated by their present-day successors.

In 1948, with his election to the first Knesset, Begin became a portend of the future. In the course of his own people who failed to share his convictions. In a recently published collection of his manifestoes, articles and illegal broadcasts during the underground period (1944-48), Britain time and

became something of an expert in the field. In parliament he has seldom spoken about social or economic issues; he firmly believes in the primacy of foreign policy. Yet over a period of thirty years his contribution to foreign policy has been immense. He seems to be more interested in legal formulations than in ideas. He would oppose the policy of the government and undermine it regularly in "make the most of the opportunities." What these opportunities were and how they could be exploited he line never quite made clear.

On one famous occasion he attacked the government head on, threatening to overthrow it by extra-parliamentary means. This was on the issue of German reparations in 1952. Accepting the money being offered by the United States was a matter of national shame. There were fiery speeches, Begin announced a fight to the death, and there were violent demonstrations in front of the parliament building. For a moment it seemed quite possible that the Knesset would storm the Knesset. But in the end Begin retreated; there was no room to the underground, no civil war.

Ben Gurion and most other leaders of Mafpat never forgave Begin. Years later Ben Gurion wrote in letters to Moshe Sharett, the foreign minister, and to Haim Guri, the poet, that if Begin ever came to power he would bring about the ruin of the state, or, at the very least, make it an absolute unit. In the years that followed Begin's rule of democracy, and among his supporters who had hitherto blindly, unquestioningly followed him, there were murmurs about "Begin-Cretichet" who had seemingly lost his enterprise and his daring.

On rare occasions he would suggest some new political initiative, thus in the 1960s it occurred to him that it was necessary to improve relations with the Soviet Union. This, he suggested, could be achieved by closely co-operating with the Soviet Union in opposing West Germany, and in the 1970s he suggested that he intended to use the first place, nor would the Soviet leaders have needed Israeli support for a campaign of this kind.

The idea, based on a serious misreading of the world situation, was typical of his limited outlook; it seemed the more logical to lead to his underground days was Danton's "Poudeux, Poudeux, encore Poudeux". The years of opposition did not help to broaden his horizons, and brief visits to Western capitals were not intended to provide a new lesson in world politics. The idea that the policy of a small country such as Israel had to be attuned to the interests of at least one great power, that it needed international support, undoubtedly occurred to him, but there was no sign that he could learn much from this. This is not to say that he was a blind believer in military power; he has always attached enormous importance to firearms, which can be roughly translated as information or explanation, or propaganda, in a constructive sense. He is deeply believed in the force of his moral and legal arguments, and being himself a master of the spoken word, he has been firmly convinced that if only Israel's case were put forward with all the good will. He has been quite blind to the fact that other people have arguments too, and that, in any case, in international politics, it is not the moral argument which counts, but the one which wins the day.

He carried on the political struggle almost singlehandedly. There had been some men of ability in the Herut, but they drifted away or were purged; few could accept his ideas. Important decisions (and many unimportant ones) were taken by one man. In later years Begin's intervention in internal party affairs diminished and eventually virtually ceased. But in the Herut, internal party democracy seemed to consist of a struggle as to who would get what of the political issues facing the country at home or abroad. After constant complaints of the part of the Herut, internal party democracy was replaced by a more authoritarian style of leadership. The obvious answer was that there were few capable people to their

rank. It was not that there was a surplus of capable people in other political parties. But in Herut even more than in the other parties the presence of one man was the ultimate authority on every issue prevented the emergence of a younger generation of leaders. The Herut did not have much intellectual support. A Mafpat leader had once noted the fact that there were more voters in one single municipality than in all the other municipalities of the country. This was not a compliment to Begin's political attitude.

He had the traditional Jewish respect for learning, but he was not at all anxious to have the benefit of the intellectuals' political advice. He failed to realize that, although intellectuals in a democracy are very much in practice, so are many of their political opinions. They can certainly cause them a great deal of harm.

Mr. Begin's performance in his first year in power was quite different from what had been expected of him. The transformation of the terrorist leader into the elder statesman was complete, and his ascendancy over his colleagues in the cabinet undisputed. But far from revealing dictatorial unities, he showed signs of weakness and indecision. His mandate was by no means as sweeping as he had generally assumed. His own party did not even have a majority in the ruling coalition, and it was riven by internal strife, with its fanatic fringe calling for the immediate cessation of negotiations with the "Hitler from the Nile." The only interest of the Liberals, Begin's party, was to ensure that he was "in business as usual," and the generals in his cabinet behaved with a remarkably unilitary lack of discipline, pulling the coalition in different directions.

Initially there had been much public support for Begin—perhaps he was the one to cut the Gordian knot, as de Gaulle had done in 1958. But this support was not to last. During one period at least in autumn last year he did show enterprise. The "Sadat peace initiative" was not an equal decree. Begin's pre-history of Sadat's visit to Jerusalem remains a mystery. It was not a success. He had been exaggerated; he did, after all, accept relations with Germany, just as he had given up the Revisionist dream about Trans-Jordan. ("Our flag will fly over Amman"; *Demokratie*, 1972, 19, 19). In the negotiations with Sadat he expressed willingness to give up all Sinai, a concession which had been a long time in the making. But there was still the question of Jewish and Arab settlements in the West Bank. The idea of Jewish settlements in these regions without betraying the Jabotinsky legacy and indeed his whole past? Thus the issue of the settlements, which were quite irrelevant compared with the larger issues of peace, became a major bone of contention, and the talks were bogged down in futile attempts to find legal definitions concerning the future of the West Bank's status.

In the eyes of the world Begin became the man who had thrown away the chance of peace, and the Israeli public too became deeply divided on the issue. There was the case of Shilo. A small group of religious fanatics had snatched a West Bank territory; the government opposed the move but did not dare to remove them. Thus, according to the official version, they became "archaeologists" overnight even though they did not know the difference between an antique card-table and a contemporary dining table. A growing number of young people were asking: "Mourir pour Shilo?" Perhaps in his heart Mr. Begin had accepted the fact that ultimately there would have to be concessions on the West Bank; perhaps he preferred that these decisions should be taken by his successors.

Despite such irresolution there was still support for him. Most Israelis would prefer peace to their "historic" right, but the majority also think that peace is not at hand. Everyone agrees that without a solution to the Palestinian issue there will be no peace, but it is also certain that a solution acceptable to the PLO would mean the end of the Jewish state. The Israelis are about equal, large sections of the Israeli public prefer that there should be as little change as possible for the time being and this, broadly speaking, is Mr. Begin's line too. Why give up the hills of

Judea and Samaria, if the Palestinians do not even recognize our rights to Tel Aviv and Haifa?

Perhaps there will be a change in the world situation; perhaps the Soviet Union in Africa, Asia, Arab countries will no longer see in Israel the main threat to their existence. It is true that the Palestinians have a right to national self-determination; and it is also true that the presence of a large and hostile minority is not in the best interests of Israel. In a similar situation in the 1930s, Czechoslovakia refused to let the Sudeten Germans exercise the right of self-determination and the Reich, for this would have had the country's defenceless. There are alternatives to Mr. Begin's policy, but they all involve risk. The risk is not only that the Jewish state will be destroyed, but also that the Jewish people will be destroyed.

Thus Mr. Begin's government has been reduced to a policy of inaction. The prime minister, one obviously a disappointed man, has been taken over by his cabinet. The long and fiery speeches are more and more of the kind that are frequent invocations of the Almighty.

But God does not supply the P-15, nor can he prevent a confrontation with the United States. Mr. Begin's historical advantage that he came to power was that it was no longer possible to ignore some of the agonizing questions which his predecessors had avoided for years—perhaps no doubt out of fear of Begin and his supporters.

Many of Mr. Begin's decisions are in disagreement with the principles of his politics, quite rightly admitted that the situation he is in anything but an ideal one. They would greatly prefer to see him resign and let a more moderate leader take over. Some Arab countries, he states, and many others in the West he remains a middle man, a mediator, a full-blown mediator. He is no longer in fashion in the Arab world, and he is not in the Communist countries. He is, of course, by no means dead in the West. But it is a different character: a nationalist of resentment and weakness, a man of which he is strictly limited by his political and economic considerations.

The stature of a political leader can be measured synchronically and diachronically. In comparison with the Weimanns, the Ben-Gurions, the Jabotinskys, the Ben-Zvi's, he is a far from ideal leader. He is not a leader of his contemporaries, the contemporaries of the Jewish people, but he is a leader of his contemporaries. He is not a leader of his contemporaries, but he is a leader of his contemporaries. He is not a leader of his contemporaries, but he is a leader of his contemporaries.

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## The seat of Ebor

By Barbara Harvey

G. E. AYLMER and REGINALD CANT (Editors):  
*A History of York Minster*  
566pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £9.75.

ROBERT RUNCIE (Editor):  
*Cathedral and City*  
St Albans Ancient and Modern  
149pp. Marjory Associates. £4.95 (paperback £1.95).

The publication of *A History of York Minster* marks the 1,350th anniversary of the building of the wooden church in which Edwin of Northumbria was baptized by Paulinus in 627. We can be sure, from the presence of a Christian community, with its own bishop, in late Roman York, that Edwin's church was not the first to have been built in the city. It was, however, the first recorded church in its place, and when the Northumbrian king was finally reconverted to Christianity, the church was rebuilt by Edwin himself on the same site and completed by Oswald.

The book is a splendid work which will add a new dimension to the study of the city of York. It is a book which will be read by many, and it is a book which will be read by many.

Edwin's church was destroyed by a fire in 704—the first of the eight fires, the last in 1840, which have occasioned major work on the Minster or, as in the late eleventh century, its complete rebuilding. The Norman church was the first to occupy the present site. Where the pre-Conquest churches stood is still not known. This problem is among those discussed in Eric

Cant's chapter on the architectural history of the Minster to 1290, the last chapter in the book which is not entirely lucky. It is a chapter which is not entirely lucky. It is a chapter which is not entirely lucky.

When, at the Reformation, the cult of St William of York, the masses of the chantry-priests and the set, sung services in the choir were outlawed or curtailed, worship in the Minster, the end for which the whole of the church was extended, badly needed a positive replacement that should be acceptable to its participants; this, for a long

time, it did not receive. Archbishop Grindal's attempt to make an overly Protestant cathedral here provoked some miserably ineffective on the part of the chapter; the godly regime fostered by the civic corporation in the 1640s and 50s was necessarily short-lived. These changes are related by Claire Cross; those of the ensuing period (1660 to 1822) by Dorothy Owen, who depicts, however, the end of the eighteenth century, to order worship and quiet in the nave half a century earlier.

More is the pity that when broke the hush was, as Peter Aston relates in his chapter on the music, the sound made by a choir "scarcely able to perform the ordinary services in the antiphons, which were therefore omitted".

It was Dean Duncombe (1858-80) who dragged the Minster into the nineteenth century, by bringing the nave into the worshipping area of the church, thus reducing the choir to a mere appendage. His plan, however, a magnifying glass is needed; without this aid one could easily miss, for example, the musical and liturgical changes of the Victorian period, as in the case of the illustrations in this chapter, which are, however, a magnifying glass is needed; without this aid one could easily miss, for example, the musical and liturgical changes of the Victorian period, as in the case of the illustrations in this chapter.

An account of hurials and post-obit commemorations of all kinds, going beyond Barrio Dobson's pages on the chantries, is needed for a full understanding of the role of the medieval Minster. Nevertheless, Dobson's chapter, on the Minster from 1215 to 1500, is exceptionally good; many readers may, with this reviewer, find his description of the cathedral clergy, their duties and their frequently ample incomes the best thing in the book. It is not possible to write of the corporate life of the early medieval Minster with the same intimacy. What Rosalind Hill and Christopher Brooke convey is the sense that the life of the Minster in that period was firmly rooted in that of Western Christendom considered as a whole.

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The glass, one of the glories of the church, is exhaustively considered by David O'Connor and Jeremy Insoll, in the book's longest chapter. G. E. Aylmer's account of the monuments of the post-medieval period, a tour de force, illumines not only changes in taste, but also the Minster's place in the life of the city of northern England. For many of the illustrations in this chapter, however, a magnifying glass is needed; without this aid one could easily miss, for example, the musical and liturgical changes of the Victorian period, as in the case of the illustrations in this chapter.

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## Policy and practice

By W. A. Speck

II T. DICKINSON:  
*Liberty and Property*  
*Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain*  
369pp. Wadsworth and Nicolson. £15.

II T. Dickinson sets himself the formidable task of reconciling the structural and rhetorical worlds of eighteenth-century political thought, bridging the gap between Sir Lewis Namier's view that men went into parliament more to advance themselves than a cause, and those who see substance as well as cant in their political rhetoric.

One reason why Namier's interpretation has so abhorrently persisted is that he devised a sophisticated methodology to sustain it. His biographical method was solidly based on a mass of evidence, above all on voluminous political correspondence, and apparently irrefutable solutions to the problems he sought to solve. No similar method has yet been developed for analysing sources which document the rhetoric of the age, such as party manifestoes, speeches, and especially its innumerable pamphlets, despite attempts to apply concepts from communications studies, for instance computer-assisted content analyses of literature.

Dr Dickinson's reconstruction of the rhetorical world is by no means a new-fangled exercise in communications studies. Instead he has tackled the problem traditionally, by the sheer hard work of reading as many speeches and pamphlets as he could lay his hands on in libraries on both sides of the Atlantic. Those who have worked in the Huntington, Yale and other American libraries will readily understand his acknowledgment of their chronological catalogues, which enriched him to find hundreds of titles he might never have found in Britain. (Professors of short title catalogues for the eighteenth century, such as Biddell's of the Anglo-Saxon church at St Albans add distinction to this worthwhile book.

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opposition arguments in the period, he redresses the balance with impressive chapters on "the defence of the whig establishment" and "the conservative defence of the Constitution". Some historians will cavil at this conceptualization, but to me it makes more sense of the century than any other interpretation.

The only point of any consequence which I find questionable is Dr Dickinson's account of Locke's contribution to Whig theory, where it seems to me that he has pushed the fashionable tendency to reduce the influence of the *Two Treatises* of Government too far, belittling Locke because political writers rarely referred to him by name in the years immediately after the Revolution. The mere failure to mention Locke's name is no measure of his significance, or lack of it, for two reasons: conceptual

phor's mortality. Locke himself was very anxious to conceal his authorship of the *Two Treatises*, which since it was as ill manners to do that appear under his name and ten years after his death. The respect for anonymity was such that when Benjamin Hooley revealed that Charles Leslie had written *The Good Old Cause* he was chinked, since it was as ill manners to guess at an author's name as to pull off a lady's mask. Ironically Leslie was one of the chief offenders in identifying Locke as the author of *Two Treatises*, his own special revelation, several attacks on the Whig rhetoric which were published in a pamphlet as *A Full Answer to Mr. Locke*... and all others who assert the power of the people. If Locke was influential, why did Leslie go out of his way to refute him?

Hooley on the other hand largely respected Locke's anonymity, perhaps more to avoid being associated with him than through any concern for his wishes. After all, Hooley was concerned to persuade fellow-churchmen that such Lockean concepts as a state of nature, an original contract and the right to resist were revolutionary with traditional Anglican teachings. In the Locke by name as an authority would hardly have helped, since the author of *The Reasonableness of Christianity* was regarded as an enemy of the Whigs, who had been in the previous generation he was usually named only by his adversaries to taint his disciples by association with heterodoxy; and just as Hobbesians had concocted a spurious debt to their mentor so did most means, Lord Halifax did not acknowledge Hobbes in his *The Character of a Trimmer*, even though it is shot through with Hobbesian notions. Similarly Hooley rarely referred to Locke. Instead, in his *The Original and Institution of Civil Government* he preferred to cite Richard Hooker, just as Locke had quoted from the *Law of Ecclesiastical Polity* to profit a respected authority on to his *Second Treatise*. A close reading of that treatise in conjunction with Hooley's defence of Mr. Hooker's judgment, however, can leave no doubt that *The Original and Institution of Civil Government* is thoroughly Lockean and did much to popularize Locke's views in the early eighteenth century.

How far it succeeds in reconciling political thought and action depends to a large extent on the acceptability of Dr Dickinson's division of the text into three periods. In the first, from the 1680s to about 1714, the material is mainly organized into a debate between Tories and Whigs; the second, from 1714 to the 1760s, Hooley interprets in terms of a division between court and country; and the third, from the 1760s to the 1790s, he arranges around a dialogue between radicals and conservatives. Where many writers stress

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PETER WEINGART

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The appointment is a full-time one and local government service conditions apply.  
Assistance towards the cost of removal and resettlement expenses will be paid in approved cases. Temporary housing may be available.  
Application forms and further details are available from and returnable to Jack Chadderton, Director of Education, Civic Centre, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 8PU, within 14 days of the appearance of this advertisement.

## City of Newcastle upon Tyne



Bedfordshire Education Service

## BARNFIELD COLLEGE (Luton)

### New Bedford Road, Luton LU3 2AX

## Tutor Librarian

Required to join the college's senior management team with responsibility for library and resource services throughout the college. Applicants should be Chartered Librarians, with experience in education.

Grade: Lecturer II on the scale £4,101-£6,556 according to experience.

Further details and application forms from the Principal Officer (S.A.E. please). Closing date August 4th, 1978.

## A LIBRARIAN

CIRCA £3,800 p.a.

Applications are invited for this appointment with responsibility for the day-to-day operation of a library service to the Authority's Headquarters, located at Gosforth, on the northern outskirts of Newcastle upon Tyne.

The successful applicant will be responsible for general reference/enquiry work, subject indexing by keyword and the production of a monthly bulletin. Experience in the use of computers for information storage and retrieval is desirable.

Applicants should be ALA or Graduate equivalents, with a minimum of two years' experience in special or reference library.  
Salary scales within the Wether Industry are currently under review, and any settlement will be in addition to the above quoted salary.

Conditions of service include a minimum of 18 days' holiday, and a flexible working scheme. Please write for an application form, quoting reference PL/005, to:

The Regional Personnel Manager,  
Northumbrian Water Authority,  
Northumbria House, Regent Centre,  
Gosforth, Newcastle upon Tyne NE3 3PX.

Northumbrian Water

THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION  
BRITISH TECHNOLOGY INDEX

## INDEXER

required to form part of a small enthusiastic team producing the UK's major technical indexing service. Candidates should have wide-ranging interests in the latest matter of science and technology, and the ability to work within an exciting production schedule. Duties include collecting, editing, proofreading and setting.

One or more of the following would be advantageous experience:  
degree in engineering, physics or chemistry; a library or information science qualification; work in a scientific or technical library; bibliographical abstracting or indexing experience.

Salary is negotiable at around £3,800.  
Please apply in writing, giving telephone number to: The Editor, BTI, Argyle House, 29 Euston Road, London NW1 2SD, by 4th August, 1978.

ilean  
LONDON  
EDUCATION AUTHORITY

## School Librarians

Applications are invited from Chartered Librarians for the following posts (graded Librarian III):  
Salary range: £3,878.80-£4,745.80, inclusive of London weighting and Phase 1 and 2 supplements.

### Trinity House School

Harper Road, SE1 (close to Elephant and Castle and London Bridge). Tel: 01-407 6877

Wanted as soon as possible, a Librarian III to organise and administer a well-equipped library in new buildings of a girls' comprehensive school, soon to become mixed. The successful applicant will work closely with the Media Resources Department to develop the provision of support material in the school. There is clerical help available in the library. Visits to the school welcome by appointment.

### Mount Carmel School

Eden Grove, N7 (Half-time post)

The Librarian (Upper School) is responsible for the day-to-day running of the library, and the acquisition, maintenance and application of books and other materials relevant to the work of the school. The Librarian is responsible to the Headmistress and her deputy, and attends Heads of Department meetings, staff meetings, and individual Departmental meetings as relevant.  
Working closely with the Librarian (Lower School), the MRO, and the teaching staff, the aim is to create a unified Learning Resources Centre that will benefit staff and pupils throughout the school.

Application forms from the Education Officer, EO/Estob.2A/1, Room 367, The County Hall, London SE1 7PB. Please enclose a large stamped addressed envelope for reply.  
Completed forms to be returned not later than Friday, 28 July, 1978.

## TRAINEE LIBRARIAN

£2823-£3279 p.a. (inc. sup)

Post Ref. EA 5578 (Lib/1)TL5

In conjunction with Leeds Polytechnic School of Librarianship, the Metropolitan Bradford Libraries propose to appoint a Graduate Trainee Librarian.

The successful candidate will be seconded jointly, and will work in the libraries until December 1979 and thereafter attend the Postgraduate Diploma course at the School, who will recommend the Trainee to the Department of Education and Science for a bursary. A close working relationship exists between our two institutions, and this will be used to ensure that the period spent with Metropolitan Bradford Libraries will be structured to help prepare the Trainee for the Diploma course - whilst at the same time doing a job of work in the libraries of choice.

The above post is open to both men and women.

Please contact John Pluss, Staffing and Development Officer, Central Library, Princess Way, Bradford BD1 1NN for further details of Metropolitan Bradford Libraries, the work programme, the Leeds course and an application form. Last date for receipt of applications will be 11th August, 1978.



City of Bradford  
Metropolitan  
Council

## Assistant Librarian

### £2,895-£3,715 p.a.

A vacancy exists for a qualified Librarian III to take over the day-to-day running of a well-equipped library in new buildings of a girls' comprehensive school, soon to become mixed. The successful applicant will work closely with the Media Resources Department to develop the provision of support material in the school. There is clerical help available in the library. Visits to the school welcome by appointment.

Salary range: £2,895-£3,715 p.a.

Completed forms to be returned not later than Friday, 28 July, 1978.

Application forms from the Education Officer, EO/Estob.2A/1, Room 367, The County Hall, London SE1 7PB. Please enclose a large stamped addressed envelope for reply.

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LEICESTERSHIRE  
COUNTY COUNCIL

## Assistant Librarian

### £2,895-£3,715 p.a.

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Salary range: £2,895-£3,715 p.a.

Completed forms to be returned not later than Friday, 28 July, 1978.

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